

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched."⁸⁰

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan⁸¹ in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual buak and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called teikteikano' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)."⁸²

⁸⁰ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 413.

⁸¹ Or clan group; see pp. 123-124.

⁸² Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, pp. 24-25.

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•515 From Adair we have the usual intimate account of this practice: "However, they practice it (bathing) as a religious duty, unless in very hot weather, which they find by experience to be prejudicial to their health, when they observe the law of mercy, rather than that of sacrifice. In the coldest weather, and when the ground is covered with snow, against their bodily ease and pleasure, men and women turn out of their warm houses or stoves, reeking with sweat, singing their usual sacred notes, *Yô Yô*, etc., at the dawn of day . . . and thus they skip along, echoing praises, till they get to the river, when they instantaneously plunge into it. If the water is frozen, they break the ice with a religious impatience: After bathing, they return home, rejoicing as they run for having so well performed their religious duty, and thus purged away the impurities of the preceding day by ablution. The neglect of this bath hath been deemed so heinous a crime, that they have raked the legs and arms of the delinquent with snake's teeth, not allowing warm water to relax the stiffened skin."¹

[859] He adds that the women were less rigid in the performance of this duty, "for they only purify themselves as their discretion directs them."² This is somewhat at variance with the information I myself received. Bossu says that the custom of making their children bathe and lie upon the hard ground was to accustom them to fatigue and to make the surfaces of their bodies generally as tough as the skin of their hands and feet.³

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554 Social advancement depended almost entirely upon success in war, for, while it is true that other abilities were recognized, such as oratory, wisdom in council, and stoicism under trial, yet unless the possessor of such a gift had been on a war expedition he would not ordinarily receive a title and must remain among the boys.

Swan says of the condition of those who had not yet performed an exploit in war:

"Young men remain in a kind of disgrace, and are obliged to light pipes, bring wood, and help cook black-drink for the warriors, and perform all the menial services of the public square, until they shall have performed some warlike exploit that may procure them a war-name, and a seat in the square at the black-drink. This stimulates them to push abroad, and at all hazards obtain a scalp, or as they term it, bring in hair."⁴

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554 Nevertheless, the Creeks had reached that point where other things than war honors did count, even though only the exceptional youth usually had his attention turned in their direction.

In the first place war names were sometimes granted for other than war-like feats. Adair tells us that they were bestowed upon

¹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³ Bossu, *Nov. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 25.

⁴ Swan in Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. V, p. 280; cf. p. 434.

"They count the day also by the three sensible differences of the sun, like the Hebrews—sunrise, they term, *Hassé kootcha meente* [háshi kucha minti], 'the sun's coming out';—noon, or mid-day, *Tabookdore* [tabokoli]; and sun-set, *Hassé Oobea* [háshi ábia], literally, 'the sun is dead'; likewise, *Hasse Ookka'tora* [háshi okatula], that is, 'the sun is fallen into the water'; the last word is compounded of *Ookka* [oka], water, and *Etora* [itola], to fall; it signifies also 'to swim,' as instinct would direct those to do, who fell into the water. And they call dark, *Ookkille* [okhili]—derived from *Ookka* [oka], water and *Illeh* [illi], dead;⁶⁶ which shews their opinions of the sun's disappearance, according to the ancients, who said the sun slept every night in the western ocean. They subdivide the day, by any of the aforesaid three standards—as half way between the sun's coming out of the water; and in like manner, by midnight, or cock-crowing, etc."⁶⁷

The Creeks rose early, and, as we have already described, ran to the creek or the nearest water to plunge in four times before they returned to the fire. Perhaps they owed to this regulation in a measure their skill as swimmers.

Adair says:

"Except the Choctah, all our Indians, both male and female, above the state of infancy, are in the watery element nearly equal to amphibious animals, by practice: and from the experiments necessity has forced them to, it seems as if few were endued with such strong natural abilities,—very few can equal them in their wild situation of life."⁶⁸

He attributes the deficiencies of the Choctaw in this particular to an absence of deep rivers or creeks in their country and he was so much impressed by the failing that he mentions it four times and gives it as the principal cause of the greater part of the losses they had suffered in their wars with the Muskogee.⁶⁹ How much truth there may have been in this we do not know. Whatever there was could probably have been traced to something in their environment or their customs.

While in later times, at least, the ancient Creeks did not have meals at regular hours as with us, they had two meals at irregular hours, one between 7 and 10 in the morning, the other around 2 in the afternoon. There was always a pot of *sofki* ready into which anyone could dip whenever the spirit moved him, and Swan says they resorted to it about once an hour.⁷⁰ This was their only supper. Labor was performed early by both men and women, and ordinarily it was laid aside about 2 o'clock, after which a ball game might be indulged in, and in the evening a dance until late at night.

⁶⁶ The etymology is probably altogether wrong.

⁶⁷ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 70.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 380, 381-382, 384, 404.

⁷⁰ Swan in Schoelkopf, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. v, p. 274.

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752 sinning with men, lest the introduction of a young one should either
 727 seduce him to folly; or she having committed it with others—or by
 783 not observing her appointed time of living apart from the rest, might
 thereby defile the place, and totally prevent the cure. But what is
 yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen,
 is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting pol-
 luted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should
 retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any
 man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law,
 he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two nega-
 tives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the
 last natural day."⁹⁹

756 In earlier times it is said that the doctors claimed to have inter-
 course with good or bad spirits, but this personal side of the influences
 which they controlled appears to have gradually fallen out so that
 they were later of a general magic nature rather than through personal
 assisting spirits.

755 The "white day" and the "white smoke" were expressions used in
 medical formulæ or incantations. It is said that the term "white
 [752 day" was specifically applied to the treatment given to a man
 727 wounded in war because by "giving him the white day" the doctor
 was prolonging his life. Two Creeks told General Hitchcock that
 doctors sometimes prescribed gifts to the *teokofa* as a means of cure.
 This suggests a sanctity connected with that building similar to the
 sanctity attaching to the Natchez temple.

756 "If the physician fails in his cure," says Swan, "he will ascribe it
 to the cats or dogs that may be about the house; and they are either
 killed instantly, or sent out of the neighborhood. If after all the
 patient dies, the chance is two to one that the doctor is considered as
 a witch or sorcerer, influenced by the devil, and is pursued, beaten,
 and sometimes killed by the surviving relations; but if successful in
 restoring the patient to health, he is paid almost his own price for
 his services, in skins or cattle."¹ This dangerous side of shamanism
 is noted by Bossu and other writers and mentioned by some of my
 informants.²

755 Another method of doctoring was by sweat baths. These were
 515 generally taken in a small lodge composed of blankets thrown over
 a framework of slender poles. When prepared to take a sweat bath
 they heated stones, carried them into the lodge and threw on them
 water which had first been doctored by being blown into through a
 cane. Some Indians were taking sweat baths regularly as late as 1914.

756 Doctors sometimes engaged in supernatural fights with one another.
 791 Upon one occasion a doctor showed his power by throwing his hand-

⁹⁹ Adair, *Hist. Am. Inds.*, p. 125.

¹ Bossu, *Nouv. Voy.*, vol. II, p. 59.

² Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, vol. V, p. 271.